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MOZAMBIQUE
REVOLUTION

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Editorial

Zimbabwe is about to become a republic, under white minority rule. This was an event long ago foreseen, as the climax of the process of consolidation of white power, which started in that country in 1965. A danger against which all the revolutionary forces were alerted.

We stated in November 1965, some days after UDI:

" We have been assisting a world movement of condemnation of UDI in Zimbabwe. However, we also note that until now no positive action was taken against that illegal act, inspite of the fact that it did not come as a surprise, but was expected as the certain result of a series of manoeuvres carried out by the Smith government in connivance with the British government.

This fact confirms what experience has taught us: that in vital matters such as that of independence, each people must count primarily on themselves and must not wait for solutions to come from outside...Immediate action is necessary, because history has shown us that the longer an unjust and illegal situation (such as UDI) continues, the more entrenched it becomes. And it is on this that Smith is counting."

Today, some 4 years have passed and this statement continues as valid as when it was first made. The revolutionary and popular forces in Africa, although conscious of the situation, although aware that lack of action would mean the advent of a new fascist and racist state, the birth of a new South Africa, the continued oppression of four million African brothers - could not do anything to prevent it. Revolutionary Africa was weak, imperialism is still strong.

Africa in fact continues to be one of the main targets of world imperialism. Unable to prevent 40 states from regaining their independence, imperialism tries to make that independence a nominal one, attempts to set up puppet governments in the African countries.

And, we are forced to admit, imperialism has achieved successes. Through the use of all manner of foul methods - direct armed intervention, assassination of progressive leaders, threats, corruption - it has succeeded in creating a situation such that the really progressive African states are far outnumbered by the reactionary ones. This explains Smith's victory, imperialism's victory.

Imperialism's victory: because, as has been proved, the establishment of white minority regimes whenever and wherever possible, is in fact another of the ways used by the imperialists to assure the defense of their economic interests in our continent. So far they have concentrated this kind of action in Southern Africa. For world imperialism, the establishment of white minority regimes is, for this part of Africa, the form of political power considered the most appropriate for the maintenance and consolidation of its economic interests. Their intention is to reinforce the South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia alliance bloc, which they directly control. The territories of Southern Africa will be used as bases to threaten and even attack the independent African states which oppose imperialist policies.

Therefore, when Africa gave up her responsibilities towards Zimbabwe and the problem was handed over to U.K., we knew for certain that the white racist minority would be established in power.

It was a heavy blow to Africa, from which, we hope, Africa will learn a lesson. The most important lesson is that an African and popular solution to any of our problems can only come from Africa herself: never from an imperialist country. Another lesson derived from this, is that it is imperative to increase aid to the liberation movements. Indeed, the events in Zimbabwe prove that the people's armed struggle against imperialist domination - whatever form this may take - is the only historical, African and popular solution.

PETITION

U.N. DECOLONISATION COMMITTEE

The following is a summary of FRELIMO's petition to the United Nations Committee on Decolonisation of Colonial Countries and Peoples, on 21st May, 1969, in Dar Es Salaam.

Mr. Chairman,
Distinguished Delegates,

Your mission here is realised at a time when the Mozambique Liberation Front and the Mozambican people are mourning their late President, Comrade Eduardo Mondlane. This cowardly assassination is the latest in a long line of Portuguese attempts to eliminate FRELIMO's leaders and many comrades have died before him. Although the loss of leaders is deeply felt, it in no way means the collapse of the struggle for national independence. This is not the first time we have appeared before this committee in Dar Es Salaam and we send a delegation every year to United Nations Headquarters. Thus we believe that the Committee is now well aware of the People's plight in Mozambique, over which there has been much talking during the last few years. What we expect from you now as always is a firm decision to take such measures as will accelerate the decolonisation process in our country.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN MOZAMBIQUE

The reasons that led us to wage our armed struggle are by now very clear to the United Nations and the whole world. Portugal continues to arrogantly ignore all United Nations resolutions on the self-determination of her colonial territories, and she increases her military activities with the full understanding, sympathy and support of her Western allies in NATO. In a speech inaugurating the first session of NATO's technical commission for aeronautical development and research held in Lisbon in 1964, the Portuguese Minister of Defense stressed Portugal's strategic role in the defense of the West and claimed that the defence of the Portuguese Colonies was the only way to preserve the heritage of the past and contribute to the future happiness of mankind. To protect her colonies from Communist attack would help to carry out NATO's original aims. (D.L. and P.J. 16-20/9/64). In November, 1967, the Portuguese Foreign Minister told the world: "As regards our policy in Africa, we are not going to alter, modify or deviate - even if we go all to pieces." A year later Marcelo Caetano stated: "We must face tasks which cannot be postponed.... not to neglect for a single moment the defence of Portugal's Overseas Provinces!" Even Cardinal Gonçaves Cerejeira, Head of the Portuguese Catholic Church, challenging and rejecting the newly created "Day of Peace" announced by Pope Paul VI, stated categorically that the Pope's words could not mean an invitation to pacifism in Africa, which would mean a cowardly retreat from the fulfilment

of great duties (D.L. 29/12/67). Portugal's allies have also gone ahead in supporting her with clear statements of official policy. A Sub-committee for Foreign Affairs presented to the U.S. Chamber of Representatives a report on the Portuguese position in Africa. "Portugal," the report said, "the last Western country which keeps a wide jurisdiction over Africa, does so to spread Christian values and civilisation to underdeveloped nations."

Twenty years ago, thousands of Africans, mobilised by the big anti-Hitler powers died for the cause of European freedom against Nazi Germany. Today, when Africa rises in arms against the forces of oppression, colonialism, fascism in Southern Africa, Western Europe does not have the courage to stand up with Africa and fight. Even a mere positive vote at the United Nations is deemed more expensive than thousands of African lives lost in fascist colonial wars in our continent. We are told that as long as NATO's support for Portugal is mentioned in the resolution, Portugal's Western allies will not vote for it, for they claim that arms given to Portugal under the NATO agreement cannot be used in the colonies. But all these powers know that Portugal has "Overseas Provinces" and that arms given through NATO can be used anywhere there to support "law and order." If this is acknowledged by these powers, it means that NATO weapons are being used in so-called "Portuguese Africa," as part of the "Portuguese State." All these powers also know that there is no effective machinery under the NATO military establishment to ensure that arms used in the colonies do not come from NATO countries. There may be ^{no} such thing as a NATO arms factory, but there are arms factories in NATO member countries, manufacturing weapons for use in NATO countries exclusively. This being so we cannot be told that weapons used in colonies, coming from NATO member states, are not NATO weapons. We have specimens of weapons captured in the course of our battles in Mozambique, and we would like members of the Committee to see them and draw their own conclusions.

Mozambique falls under the category of those countries whose inhabitants' interests, under the United Nations Charter, Article 73, should be considered paramount, and therefore should be assisted in all ways to realise their political aspirations. Having been denied this by the Portuguese Government, the people themselves decided to resolve the problem on their own. The liberation war is now four and a half years old. Large areas have been liberated in Cabo Delgado and Niassa Provinces. Administration, health, education and reconstruction programmes are being carried out in the liberated areas. Thus by their own efforts and the assistance of freedom-loving people the world over, the Mozambican people have won resounding victories over the Portuguese colonialists. The results so far achieved are very encouraging.

In the 1968-69 fiscal year, Portugal allocated £86 million for the colonial wars, which was increased last January by £438,800. This allows Portugal to spend an average of £242,303, per day on the colonial wars, enabling her to maintain an army of over 150,000 men. Portugal's friends are very sympathetic to her cause. In April, 1966, Mr. Edward Heath declared that the Portuguese Government threatened no peace or international security whatsoever. Two years earlier, Mr. Michael Stewart, the British Foreign Secretary, said in the House of Commons that Britain continued to approve the sale of war material to Portugal. This is only understandable with the tangled Rhodesian

affair, and also her 1,000 million pounds invested in Portugal and the Portuguese colonies. We in Mozambique are therefore facing a formidable international capitalist force, which opposes anything that leads to our national independence.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS AND THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN MOZAMBIQUE

The world does not need to be told of Portugal's backward cultural, economic and social development, her lack of a responsible democratic government. She has nothing to offer the colonies but the reflection of her backwardness at home. Annex I, an extract from a report by a Canadian observer team, illustrates the methods she uses in Mozambique to maintain her evil colonial system. Foreign capital, exploiting backward Portugal, has made its way into the Portuguese African colonies - a fact which sometimes causes concern to the Portuguese themselves who believe this is a "sell-out" policy of the colonies "to Anglo-American capital, making it a foreign colony under the Portuguese flag"! The Financial Times of 13 June, 1968 stated: "Foreign investors find favourable conditions for private enterprise, low level of taxation, abundant manpower for some light industries and wage levels considerably lower than in most European countries." In 1965, of the 122 foreign countries which were established in Portugal, 34 were British. One year later the trade deficit of Portugal reached a total of £138 million with a sound increase the year after. On the other hand, in 1967, she received a loan of £50 million from Britain. In that same year foreign capital invested there totalled £27 million. All these investments allow Portugal to continue paying for her colonial war.

The Cabora Bassa Project

Meanwhile, foreign capital is pouring into Mozambique to build what will be the fourth largest dam in the world. It is estimated to cost between £110 Million and £125 million. The following groups applied for the contract:

1. Cabora Bassa Builders(Paris) - French, American, South African
2. Cabora Bassa Construction Consortium - Italian, British, South African
3. Zambezi Hydroelectric Consortium - Paris(Zamco) West German, French, Swedish, South African and Portuguese. The final contract was awarded to the ZAMCO Consortium.

If those who support the fascist-colonialist regime of Portugal think that in doing so they are harming only Africans they are mistaken. For the conditions of the Portuguese people are also unbearable. On March 15, 1966, the weekly "AKTUEL" published an interview with a Swedish engineer, formerly employed by one of the 11 Swedish textile and clothing factories operating in Portugal. Mr. Kariasson said he left his job, because "I was ashamed of being Swedish" in a Swedish factory in Portugal where women enter the factory at the age of 16 with a wage of 3 shillings a day. At 18 they reached the maximum of 6 shillings. History has shown that imperialism as a system never looks after the welfare of the masses under its rule. Our welfare, therefore, cannot be guaranteed by those who exploit the Portuguese people and the people of the colonies. What we want from the United Nations is not pious resolutions, but concrete action, that will accelerate the process to our independence. For this reason we have some proposals to make to the Committee.

OUR PROPOSALS

We have always taken a humane attitude towards deserters and prisoners of war. The first group of these were allowed to go elsewhere in the countries of their choice. At present in the liberated areas we have six deserters and two prisoners. Many foreign journalists have seen and published accounts of them. We plan the following:

- To set the deserters free and send them to countries of their choice which may accept them;
- We want to negotiate an exchange of prisoners of war with the Portuguese authorities.

With regard to this matter, our first proposal is a request to the United Nations Organisation, collectively, or through its members to do two things:

- To receive them in their countries and allow them to make a living there;
- To pay for their transportation costs to any countries of their choice.

As regards the prisoners of war, the United Nations could serve as an intermediary in the exchange with Portugal.

Our second proposal is for the creation of a SPECIAL MOZAMBIQUE DEVELOPMENT AND AID FUND by the United Nations. Annex II explains the aims, uses and purposes of the fund. Last year you saw our film about life in the liberated areas, and our programmes of national reconstruction. We feel that since our cause is fully understood and supported by the United Nations Charter, the World Organisation can do much to put into operation this, our second proposal. Indeed, we believe that by so doing you would be putting into effect what is set forth in article 73, chapter XI of the United Nations Charter.

POINTS OF EMPHASIS

We would like to emphasise five points by way of conclusion.

1. South Africa's increasing intervention in Portugal's colonial war: three military posts in Tete, a battalion and 25 military aircraft in Niassa, and elsewhere, "advisers." The United Nations must take a firm stand against South Africa's aggression in Mozambique

2. The continuous violation of African States' sovereign territory by the Portuguese in particular, Tanzania, Zambia, Congo-Kinshasa, Congo-Brazzaville, Senegal, Guinea-Conakry. These are acts of international banditry that should be met by the full force of international law.

3. We vigorously protest and condemn the barbarous strategy of assassinating FRELIMO's leaders.

4. We energetically condemn the NATO members for their conspiracy against Africa's freedom and independence, particularly its intervention with money, weapons and equipment in Portugal's colonial wars.

5. We would like to take this opportunity to formally address an invitation to the distinguished members of the Committee of 24 to visit the liberated areas in Mozambique. Such a visit would be extremely valuable in planning for future concrete action by the United Nations with regard to fulfilling its duties on the question of colonisation in our country.

ANNEX I

A REPORT BY A CANADIAN MISSION ON PORTUGUESE LEGAL SYSTEM

A pamphlet with the above title written by Canadian MP's, A. Brewin and D. MacDonald has been published by the Canadian Committee for Amnesty in Portugal, whose chairman is Reverend G.V. Kimball (175 Queen St. West Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada).

Mark MacGuigan, Chairman of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, Professor of Law at Osgood Law School, a leading Catholic layman and a member of the Liberal Party wrote the report that "the state of criminal justice in Portugal is nothing short of appalling." He listed seven reasons:-

1. Portugal has a system of special political courts and there is a special section of its supreme court for appeals from those courts.
2. Citizens may be and frequently are, arrested and held in prison for up to six months without arrangements, charges or the right to counsel.
3. The political police use torture to extract confessions from citizens awaiting trial.
4. Prison conditions are deplorable. Portugal is the only country in Western Europe that does not permit the Red Cross to inspect its jails.
5. The right to counsel is inadequate; it may be denied altogether for six months and even when it is allowed the political police must be present. Lawyers themselves are often arrested.
6. Trials are a gross affair. The accused may be denied the right to speak in his own defence. The prosecution does not have to bring in any live witnesses and may limit his evidence to documents; the defence may not challenge the validity of such documents.
7. Prison sentences may be prolonged indefinitely under the "security measures" laws. Many are in jail, whose sentences expired years ago.

"It is only necessary to be a human being to realise the incredible injustice of the Portuguese legal system." Prof. MacGuigan concluded, "The regime in Portugal is an appalling one, and one against which we must make our protest heard to the sky."

ANNEX II

PROPOSALS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIAL MOZAMBIQUE DEVELOPMENT AND AID FUND

Having many countries on the Committees and in the General Assembly voting in favour of self-determination and independence of the countries under Portuguese domination, we think that with the creation of a Mozambique Development and Aid Fund, the United Nations would be assisting in a concrete and principled way the liberation of the people of Mozambique from the Portuguese colonial yoke. If such a fund cannot be established in the name of the

United Nations, we would appreciate it if this Committee could endorse it and make a strong appeal to the member states of the U.N. to contribute to it.

Purpose of the Fund.

The purpose of the fund will be to assist FRELIMO with all aspects of the programmes for national reconstruction and development in the liberated areas of Mozambique. These programmes can roughly be divided into three headings:-

- a) Agriculture, Cottage Industry and Commerce;
- b) Public Health;
- c) Education.

a) Agriculture, Cottage Industry and Commerce.

The most urgent requirements of peasants in the liberated areas are for basic agricultural implements such as pangas and hoes. When the Portuguese administration was forced to abandon the North, they also withdrew all commercial services with the result that all goods usually supplied by traders became unobtainable. FRELIMO has had to take over the responsibility of ensuring that essential supplies reach the population.

A more complex problem is that the whole pattern of agriculture had to be reorganised. Under the Portuguese, agriculture was organised on a typically colonial pattern; compulsory cultivation of cash crops where the people worked their own land, forced labour on the large estates, both designed to yield the highest possible profits for the Portuguese. In the liberated areas, FRELIMO has put an end to these practices and is now trying to organise agriculture for the maximum benefit of the people. Land has been redistributed, co-operatives formed and where possible technical advice is given. To make this programme more effective, we need facilities to train personnel in the management of co-operatives and in agricultural methods. In order to introduce improved methods we need some funds to answer special needs, such as extra seeds, improved seeds, insecticides, etc.

The withdrawal of commercial services described in the previous section, has effected all sides of life in the liberated areas. Consumer essentials such as soap, salt, sugar, oil, textiles, etc. have to be provided by FRELIMO. At present most of these goods have to be imported, with the proceeds gained by selling a small surplus of agricultural goods. It is FRELIMO's policy, however, to provide for the local production of such products as salt, oil, clothing and shoes. Already, some agricultural and household implements are made locally, but these activities have to be greatly expanded and new techniques introduced. In particular, the manufacture of soap, the processing and weaving of cotton and the production of rope should be introduced, the manufacture of clothing and leather goods established. For such programmes we need equipment: small movable plants for the manufacture of oil and soap, sewing machines, tools for wood and leather working. We also need funds and trained personnel to provide training programmes. Two types of training programmes are called for: technical training in specific skills, skills required for the production of articles by cottage industry and also those required for the maintenance and repair of any specialised equipment used

in the liberated zones. These programmes would include sewing and dressmaking, shoe-making, carpentry and woodwork, metalwork, the processing of cotton, weaving, rope-making, watch repairing, radio repairing, commercial courses to provide personnel to manage and co-ordinate the production and trade activities. These would include bookkeeping and the management of cottage industries. FRELIMO has already been studying some of the natural resources of the liberated areas, in particular, hardwoods, rubber, tobacco and cotton. However, technical advice and training is needed to develop and expand this work; so finance and equipment will be needed in order to exploit such resources.

The artwork of the people of Mozambique is well known internationally; iron and silver work, weaving and especially the hardwood sculptures of the Makonde. These works could prove an important source of foreign exchange, but FRELIMO needs means and trained personnel in order to build an efficient organisation for marketing these goods and ensuring fair profits for the people who produce them.

b) Public Health.

In the field of public health, as in commerce, the Portuguese withdrew all their services, leaving a total vacuum which FRELIMO had to fill. FRELIMO has organised a health service which provides a number of rural health centres. These are closely linked with each other so that cases can be transferred, when necessary, from a centre with very rudimentary equipment to one with better facilities. There is a training programme attached to the Mozambique Institute which provides personnel to run these services. However, these activities are severely limited by lack of funds and equipment. More centres are needed, existing centres need more equipment and more and better drugs, the training programmes need to be greatly expanded, both in the number of people trained, as in the breadth and scope of their training. To do this staff and finance are urgently called for.

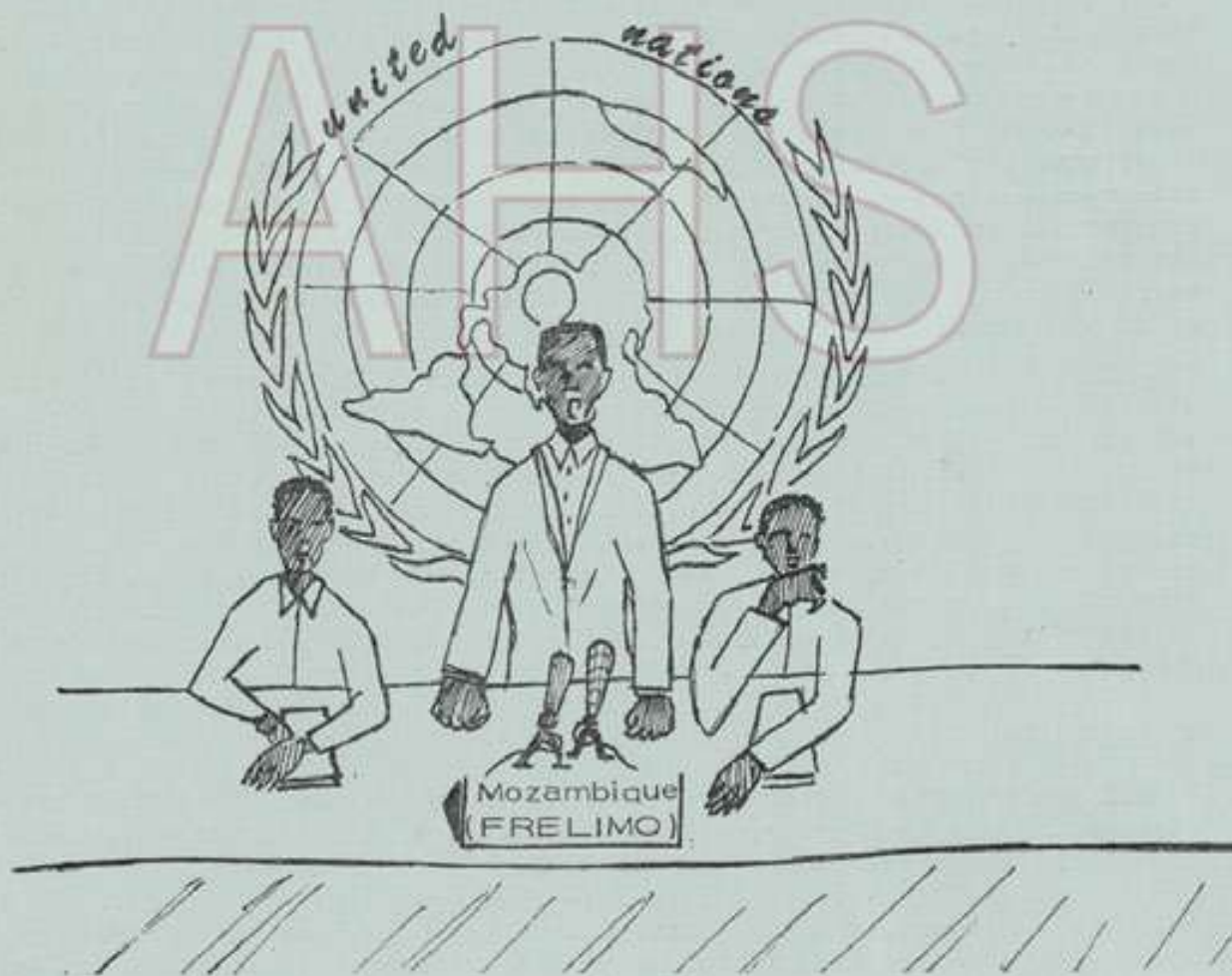
The FRELIMO Health Service in the liberated areas has given a great deal of attention to preventive medicine: vaccination campaigns are in progress now and efforts are made to spread instruction about general matters of hygiene. Here again, lack of the necessary vaccines, or the funds with which to buy them limits the effectiveness of this work. Vaccination campaigns already carried out have shown that, through the highly developed organisation of the party, maximum co-operation can be expected from the population. The only obstacle to achieve universal vaccination is the scarcity of vaccines. Thus, in this field as well, outside help could considerably expand the scope of our work.

c) Education

In all the previous sections the need for more training facilities has been stressed. Under the Portuguese, the education of the African populations was almost completely denied and the result of this is that all development programmes are hampered by a desperate shortage of personnel with even the most basic educational qualifications. To overcome this, the primary schools which FRELIMO has opened in the liberated areas must be improved and expanded

in order to provide the personnel of tomorrow. To meet our needs now, however, extensive literacy campaigns among the adult population are called for. The following is an indication of the kind of basic essentials constantly lacking: blackboards, paper, pencils, textbooks, etc. Besides all this, the pupils and staff of our schools are self-supporting, but what they cannot produce themselves they have to be provided with.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, you have been hearing us for a long time now. What we have tried to do is to present, in our opinion, those proposals which we think are practicable and if adopted they would go a long way to help consolidate our liberated areas and by doing so the U.N. would be helping the people of Mozambique in their struggle for national independence. The best way to help a fighting people to achieve independence is by giving them material assistance with which to permit them to carry on the struggle to final victory. While we appeal to the conscience of the peace and freedom-loving people of the world to make their contribution in the best way possible, we want to make it abundantly clear that history has decided the course and fate of our struggle, Mozambique will be free.



THE POPE'S VISIT TO AFRICA

"Allow us in your presence to act as interpreter of all those who suffer unjustly, who are unworthily exploited, outrageously made game of in body and soul, debased by a degrading work systematically willed, organised and imposed on them." So spoke Pope Paul VI on 10 June 1969 at the fiftieth anniversary session of the International Labour Organisation. There have been many similar pronouncements over the past few months - about social injustice and suffering in the world. At the end of July he will pay a visit to Africa - a continent which has seen more than its share of misery and exploitation, and where millions of people are still suffering, in some cases apparently with the concurrence of the Roman Catholic church. It seems rather ironic that only a day later, at the same ILO conference, a special committee should have presented a report indicating without doubt that there is still forced labour in the Portuguese colonies. And Portugal is a country ^{with} which the Vatican has particularly close ties.

The Pope sends Christmas messages about "those who hunger and thirst for justice, for those who suffer in pain and poverty" wishing that "peace and concord may be born again among men who are still engaged in unending conflict;" he speaks with regret at Easter about the conflicts in Africa, the Middle East and Vietnam which are described as "three atrocious wounds bleeding in the body of mankind;" he tells pilgrims that the Church is "suffering from authoritarian regimes in many countries." And yet he awards the Great Cross of St. Sylvester to Commander Silva Pais, the Head of PIDE, the Portuguese Gestapo; hands the papal decoration, the order of St. Gregorio to Colonel Soares de Moura, commander of Monte Real's air base and, by a personal visit with gifts for Salazar and the President of the Republic, he sanctions one of the most notorious fascist dictatorships in the world. There appears to be slight inconsistency.

The close relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the Portuguese Government has existed for a long time. It was during the struggles and ideological confusion in Portugal at the beginning of the century that the "Ultra" group, representing the privileged classes, was able to lay the groundwork for the fascist coup of 1927. These were the royalists and traditional Catholics who wanted to maintain the old alliance of Church and State. They formed organisations such as the student group in Coimbra "Centro Academico de Democracia Cristã" where Oliveira Salazar gained his first political experience. In addition, the reactionary "Integralismo Lusitano" movement, through its magazine "Nacao Portuguesa" provided Salazar not only with an adequate political indoctrination but also with many of his closest collaborators. The ideology and political programme of the "ultras" in whose midst Salazar was to become a prominent figure, was largely based on the texts of the Rerum Novarum and the Quadragesimo Anno, the encyclical letters of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI. Leo XIII's horror of communism supplied Salazar with his best propaganda weapon to fight democracy, such that he could justify the brutal suppression of the most elementary human rights. His position was further enhanced by the influence of "Our Lady at Fatima" (a vision said to have appeared to three

shepherds). Although today officially agreed that the reported "message" of Fatima was the need for penance, it was cleverly manipulated to have far more political significance: for example, to stress the urgency of prayer for the conversion of the U.S.S.R. and its return to the Christian fold. Even today, the cult of Fatima is still closely associated with the ideas and emotions of extreme right wing politics. In 1967 members of an organisation originating in the U.S.A. called the "Blue Army", which under the inspiration of Fatima has committed itself to a permanent crusade against socialism and the liberation movements, visited Portugal to pray for peace at Fatima. From there, the group led by Dom Joao Venancio, Bishop of Leiria in Portugal, went to Saigon, where they offered an image of Our Lady to Saigon Cathedral!

The spiritual power that Salazar has been able to derive from the Fatima cult for his political propaganda has established in Portugal close unity between the sphere of the divine and that of earthly power.

In the early sixties certain liberalising tendencies were observed in the Catholic Church with Pope John XXIII's encyclical letters *Mater et Magistra* (1961) and *Pacem in Terris* (1963), which outlined a policy of "aggiornamento," or the integration of the church into modern times, which was to inspire the Vatican Council II. However, the Vatican seems to have turned a blind eye to the fact that these texts have been expurgated in their Portuguese version, commentaries on the encyclical "*Pacem in Terris*" have been banned in the press. Many Catholics in Portugal still count on the support of the church hierarchy and endorse the Government's repressive measures.

The Cardinal of Lisbon, Dr. G. Cerejeira, is a longstanding friend of Salazar. His silence in the face of hundreds of political prisoners held under barbarous conditions, the use of brutal torture, assassinations by PIDE, and the horrors of the colonial wars is therefore quite understandable. The Roman Catholic hierarchy in Portugal is still all-powerful. In 1961, for example, an Angolan priest, Father Manuel das Neves, was arrested for supporting MPLA, sent to prison, and later confined to a Jesuit Seminary. For similar reasons, at the time of the Pope's visit to Portugal in June 1967, seven priests were confined by the church to religious institutions. In 1965 a hundred distinguished Catholics issued a manifesto accusing Salazar of using the name of Christ to cloak its totalitarian policies, which were it said, "a scandal for which the Portuguese Catholics will have to answer one day." More recently, in November 1968, it was announced that a priest in Portugal had dared to preach a sermon on the need for reform within the Catholic Church. In response, the full weight of church authority came crashing down and he was suspended by the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon "a divinis" i.e. although remaining a priest he is no longer allowed to perform any priestly functions. He had accused the Catholic hierarchy in Portugal of ignoring the teachings of the Vatican Council II and had made reference to the "collusion between the church and the Salazarist Government." Refusing to retract his statements, the priest stated that this act had three precious advantages: first, it unmasked the paternalistic myth of the Catholic church; second, it called attention to the fact that the methods of the Inquisition continued latent in the church; third, that the counter-reforms continued and had experienced only a brief pause with Pope John XXIII. He added that hopes created in people of good will by the texts of Vatican II had "the taste of deception." And it was in the full knowledge of all these facts that the Pope visited Portugal in May, 1967.

It is impossible to accept that the political and religious spheres can be kept completely separate. It is hypocrisy to tell a new African ambassador to the Vatican "we deplore the fact that, despite many efforts, the precarious living conditions of so many urban and rural populations in Africa impose on them limitations contrary to their development and their dignity" when in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau it is the Portuguese who impose these conditions, who suppress every bit of human dignity - with the support of the Roman Catholic Church.

One of the basic tenets of Portuguese colonial theory is that when the "indigenous population" become civilised, they will become Portuguese citizens, just like those in the Metropolis, they will become "assimilados." As the Portuguese consider the Roman Catholic faith an essential part of their culture, the first step in this assimilation process must be conversion, although this is not stipulated as being one of the official conditions. The five official requirements all come down to one basic essential - a European education. And education for the Africans, or rather the lack of it, is intimately linked with the church. For a Concordat signed in May 1940 made the Roman Catholic Church responsible for the education of the "indigenous population" in a country of about 7 million people where in 1959 there were only 210,000 Catholics and 500,000 - 1,000,000 Muslims. The first stage of education for an African child is a three-year course of "adaptive instruction" consisting mainly of Portuguese and religious education, and also often a great deal of work on the mission lands. The level of instruction in these schools is such that in 1961 only 1.5 per cent were able to pass the examination that would give them access to primary school. In 1963 less than one fifth of the children in primary school were African, although Africans constitute 97.5 per cent of the population. And the percentages of African students is much less than this for secondary and higher education. So the Roman Catholic Church is not only closely identified with the Portuguese government at home, but also with its policies in the colonies.

The myth of the Portuguese "civilising mission" in the colonies has always provided a convenient cloak for its more immediate aims of the simple search for profit. And nowhere has this been outlined more clearly than in a treatise entitled "Colonising Traditions, Principles and Methods of the Portuguese" by the man who recently succeeded Salazar, Professor Marcelo Caetano. He states that "the form which the Portuguese interest in the native assumed was the concern of bringing to him the message of the Gospel so as to lift him out of the darkness of paganism and save his soul." He then adds, "simultaneously, the Portuguese saw the necessity of taking advantage of the unused riches of the ^{new} worlds..." More successfully than most colonial powers, the Portuguese have proved extremely adept at making virtue out of what is profitable. And Portugal's "virtue" has always been tied very closely with the Catholic Church enabling her to reap political as well as moral advantages. Caetano explains that: "the religious reformation also led to the dissolution of the Empire since the countries which left the Roman communion failed to respect the Pontifical Bulls which, in exchange for missionary work, committed to Portugal the newly

discovered lands, and gave her exclusive sovereignty." The political manipulation of religion in Portugal as illustrated earlier, led to corresponding developments in the colonies. Though still retaining the basic image of "mission and Holy Crusade" the content of Portuguese Catholic religious rationale has been slightly modernised to fit into the context of the cold war, the "battle of the free world" against Communist and Islamic expansion. Monsignor Custodio Alvim Pereira, Archbishop of Lourenco Marques illustrates this very clearly in a speech justifying the expulsion of a number of African students from his seminary: "In almost every case contemporary African independence movements carry the mark of communism and revolt... the doctrine of the Church concerning atheist and revolutionary communism is clear. The true revolution is that of the Gospel. The slogan of "Africa for the Africans" is a philosophical lie in defiance of Christian civilisation and the events of today prove that it is communism and Islam who are seeking in this way to impose their civilisations."

When the Pope visits Africa next month he will see countries where the African peoples are free and independent, are running their own affairs in their own interest. Perhaps when he sees these things, he might realise that one cannot pray for "internal order inside nations" when some nations are not even allowed to exist, but are brutally suppressed by foreigners. One cannot talk about the eradication of injustice, pain and poverty in the same breath as "peace and concord...among men" when the only way to eradicate these evils is by violence.

The church of which the Pope is the supreme head has weighty responsibilities in the fight against social injustice, exploitation, and racism. It is therefore to be hoped that when he visits free Africa he will be conscious of the necessity to take a strong stand against the root causes of these evils on this continent - Portuguese colonialism and its allies in the South.

" I studied at the mission, but we weren't well taught. In the first place, they taught us only what they wanted us to learn - the catechism; they didn't want us to learn other things. Then every morning we had to work on the mission land. They said our fathers didn't pay for our food or our school things. The mission also received money from the government, and our families paid them fees. After 1958 our parents even had to buy the hoes with which we cultivated the mission land."

GABRIEL MAURICIO NANTIMBO,
PRELIMO guerrilla,
former pupil of IMBUHO Mission School.

FRELIMO

MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT

Communiqué

No. 143

CABO DELGADO PROVINCE

Following the defection of the traitor Lazaro Kavandame the Portuguese put out widespread propaganda to the effect that this would constitute a great blow to the activities of the FRELIMO freedom fighters in CABO DELGADO Province; that their morale would be shattered, their will to fight broken.

But this was mere wishful thinking, and nothing could be farther from the truth. For this treacherous act, this betrayal of our people, served only to strengthen our determination to fight on even harder.

This determination has shown outstanding results, as is proved by the most recent reports of our military operations in CABO DELGADO. During the period 3 April - 8 May alone 17 vehicles were put out of action, 34 enemy soldiers were wounded, and more than 70 enemy were killed. In addition, a post was completely wiped out, and a total of 214 weapons and 490 non-military items were captured.

MINING OPERATIONS:

- On the 3rd April 1969 a lorry travelling along the road from COUVEQUE to MACOMIA hit our mines and was destroyed. Nine enemy soldiers were killed and 4 wounded.
- On 15 April 1969 three lorries travelling from MUIDUMBE to NANGOLOLO hit our mines, putting 19 enemy soldiers out of action.
- Two lorries were destroyed when they hit mines between NAMAELE and MACOMIA, on 24th April.
- Four lorries all loaded with soldiers left MITEDA on 4 May heading for MUEBA. Two were destroyed and 16 enemy put out of action. The rest retreated and helicopters were called in to collect the dead and wounded.
- Our guerrillas attacked a convoy on 8 April 1969, destroying 2 lorries and killing most of the soldiers in them.
- Towards the end of April a Portuguese unit set out to attack the local people in the zone of NANGOLOLO. They were located by our forces and attacked in the village of IRENEU. The enemy fled, leaving behind many dead and wounded.

- Five lorries were ambushed on the 5th of May on the road from MACOMIA to CHAI. Three were damaged, 11 enemy killed and many others wounded.
- Two days later a convoy of 6 vehicles was ambushed between MUEDA and SAGAL. Two were damaged and 8 Portuguese killed.
- On the same road, a unit was attacked while on a march, on 8 May. 23 of them were killed.
- Also on 8 May, troops from the post of NANGADE went out on a mission, and arrested 18 villagers. When our fighters were informed, they ambushed the enemy, killing 9 of them, and were able to free 14 of the prisoners.

ATTACK AGAINST THE POST OF MARERE:

On 26 April the post of MARERE was attacked and completely wiped out. The following articles were captured:

9 machine-guns G-3
 3 German sub machine-guns
 43 German rifles (Mauser)
 2 British rifles (7.7)
 5 French automatic pistols
 2 double-barrelled shotguns
 15 boxes of ammunition
 25 magazines for G-3 machine-guns
 150 defensive grenades
 238 rolls of cloth
 55 shirts
 32 pairs of trousers
 2 military raincoats
 25 pairs of boots
 2 coats
 1 radio transmitter
 2 record players
 3 radios
 120 plates
 10 clothes irons

3rd June, 1969

No. 144

TETE PROVINCE

Our struggle for liberation is being intensified in TETE Province. During the period between the 2nd of April to the 9th of May, 1969, FRELIMO fighters in action in that province attacked 3 military posts, in DEMICIANO, CHINTUKULA and CHIUTA; ambushed 3 enemy convoys, destroyed 5 vehicles, and destroyed 3 more lorries in mining actions. As a result of these operations, more than 100 Portuguese soldiers were put out of action.

2nd of April, 1969: An ambush was organised by our forces on the CHIUTA-BENE Road, in the zone of Chief BANGUE: 2 lorries were destroyed; 15 enemies were killed.

10th April, 1969: A guerrilla unit advanced towards the enemy post of DEMICIANO. The post was attacked at 9 p.m. The barracks and the canteen were destroyed. Many enemy soldiers were put out of action. As a result of this attack, the enemy was forced to abandon the post.

10th April: A PRELIMO sabotage unit mined the road linking the posts of MALEWERA and DEMICIANO. On the 11th, three lorries left MALEWERA loaded with Portuguese soldiers, to reoccupy the post of DEMICIANO which had been attacked by our forces the day before. The front lorry hit the mines and was blown up, killing 12 enemies. The other lorries returned to MALEWERA and gave up their mission.

12th April, 1969: A FRELIMO platoon ambushed an enemy convoy on the road between CHALIMBANA and TINGUE. The result of the ambush was 3 vehicles destroyed and a 4th damaged. 26 of the enemy were put out of action.

15th April, 1969: The enemy used to launch massacre operations, steal the livestock of the populations in the area of Chief MBHANDE, in CHIUTA. Our guerrillas decided to punish the enemy and put an end to these actions. Our attack against their post took place on the 15th of April. The post was partly destroyed, and many enemies were killed or wounded.

22nd April, 1969: Our fighters mined the road between MALEWERA and KASSUENDE, in the zone of Chief CHIMUALA. On the 23rd of April, an enemy convoy going towards MALEWERA fell on the mines: 2 lorries were blown up, 10 Portuguese soldiers were killed and many others were wounded.

22nd April: In an ambush in the region between BANGWE and BENE, 9 enemies were killed.

9th of May, 1969: A large concentration of FRELIMO guerrillas, composed of infantry and artillery forces, attacked the post of CHINTUKULA. The attack lasted 15 minutes, and resulted in the destruction of 6 lorries and the death of about 20 Portuguese soldiers.

13th June, 1969.

No. 145

NIASSA PROVINCE

In NIASSA, the strategic enemy post of OLIVEIRA was attacked by our artillery and infantry forces, on the 27th March. The post was partially destroyed, and many Portuguese soldiers who formed the garrison of that post were wiped out.

Our struggle is developing in the neighbourhood of the capital of this province, VILA CABRAL. A large number of ambushes were launched by our fighters on the roads linking VILA CABRAL to other posts, particularly the road between VILA CABRAL and MANDALAVE. As a result of these actions, VILA CABRAL is virtually isolated and experiencing great difficulties in obtaining

.../

its supplies. However, the enemy has reinforced in the area of LAKE NIASA, where it has increased the number of its warships to 12.

In CABO DELGADO the enemy is desperately trying to regain control of the main road linking MUEDA to SAGAL. However, the frequency and intensity of our ambushes and mining actions make this impossible.

During the month of May, FRELIMO guerrillas launched major operations in the zones of SAGAL, MUEDA, DIACA, MACOMIA, CHAI, MITEDA and NANGOLOLO, watching the enemy and attacking them constantly whenever they dare leave their posts. For example, on the 10th of May, a large Portuguese company left the post of SAGAL, marching towards IMBUHO. They were ambushed by FRELIMO guerrillas in LIPANYANGULE. In spite of the casualties they suffered (4 dead and 5 wounded), the Portuguese continued their march. Near IMBUHO, they hit our mines, and 3 more were killed and some wounded. They then decided to organise an ambush on the pathway leading from CHILUMU to the small lake of RUMBA. For 2 days they waited in ambush in vain; so, they decided to return to SAGAL. On the 12th of May, on their way back, they were again ambushed and suffered 7 more losses. Actions such as these take place daily. One of our most important recent attacks has been that against the strategic hamlet of NAMRUCIA, which resulted in the death of 9 Portuguese soldiers and the capture of the following material:

- 3 rifles "Mauser" calibre 7.92, numbers 7711, 7955 and 1265;
- 1 rifle "Lienfield," calibre 7.7, No. 552;
- 1 automatic pistol No. 281663;
- 3 boxes of ammunition (for G-3 Mauser and FN)
- Other materials, including radios and uniforms;

The total result of our operations in CABO DELGADO (May) and NIASA - Southern Region (March - May), was 82 Portuguese soldiers killed, 6 military vehicles blown up, a strategic hamlet assaulted and a post attacked and partially destroyed.

1st July, 1969.

THE ONLY TERRORISTS ARE THE COLONIALISTS

I was born in Seti, CABO DELGADO PROVINCE 23 years ago. I come from a family of poor peasants; there were 8 children. My name is Miguel Ambrosio Cunamashuvi. We were so poor that my father was exempted from paying tax. Only my eldest brother paid 115.0 escudos a year. He had to work on other peoples' land and give up what little he produced. This meant that at home we had to sell what little we produced to pay the tax. We worked with a hoe; the fields were very small and we were paid very little for what we sold. We had to sell a great deal to have the money to pay the tax. We sold to traders. We sold them peanuts at 1.0 escudo per kg. but they sold them at 5.0 escudos a kg.

My father was wounded and arrested in 1960 at the massacre of Mueda. He was in prison at Porto Amelia for two years, from June, 1960, to September, 1962. He had not been tried or sentenced but just imprisoned and like that he stayed in prison for two years.

I have fought in ZAMBESIA and NIASA far from my own region and my own tribe. I have fought in the region of the Chuabos and the Lomues. I need to say that, because the Portuguese lie and say that we are not united. The Chuabos, the Nyanjas and the Lomues received me even more warmly than if I had been from their own region. In Western Niassa, for example, I came across Comrade Panguene and although he is from the South, you couldn't distinguish him from the people of the region; he was like a son of the region. The people understand that we are all Mozambicans, equal sons of the same country. The people are united and help us. Otherwise, for instance we couldn't go into enemy areas; it is the people who give us all our information about their movements, their strength and their position. Also when we start working in an area where we have no food because we have not yet had the opportunity to grow any, the people supply us and feed us. We also help the people. Until militias have been formed in a region we protect the people in their fields against the action and reprisals of the colonialists; we organise new villages when we have to evacuate the people from a zone because of the war; we protect them against the enemy.

When the Portuguese take a village by surprise they kill the people, they hang them and massacre them. I saw this for instance in May 1965 at Cunua, Tacuane Region. The people were harvesting when the soldiers surprised them. Then they fired on the people and a woman was wounded in the right thigh. We treated her and then went to look for other casualties. We found the body of a child aged 5 or 6; they had cut his head off with a knife. We buried the child.

We have never done that. We have never thought of murdering Portuguese civilians; we don't terrorise the Portuguese civilian population because we know who we are fighting and why. For that reason we have never planned an attack against Portuguese civilians. If we wanted to we could; the civilians live near us, we have every opportunity, but our objective, our target is the army, the police, the administration.

Our programme, our standing orders state clearly that we must not attack any civilian, only those people who are with the army; that is, accompanying and assisting it. The only terrorists in Mozambique are the colonialists. We will go on fighting to wipe out terrorism for good in our land; we shall liberate the whole of our country as we have already liberated a part from the terrorism created by the colonialists and imperialists.

MASSACRE IN MUEDA

" I have seen how the people suffer. I saw how the colonialists massacred the people at Mueda. That was when I lost my uncle. Our people were unarmed when they began to shoot. To defend ourselves, we picked up sticks and stones. We had gone to ask for freedom, for elections."

...Teresinha Mblale, soldier in women's detachment.

The people of Mueda could no longer tolerate the exploitation and oppression from the Portuguese. They were forced to work in the sisal plantations for a mere pittance out of which they could not make a living. They had no schools for their children. They were forced to cultivate cotton instead of food crops for themselves. The little foodstuffs they had were often stolen by Portuguese soldiers. Moreover, they were tired of being governed by foreigners. They were never allowed to participate in the administration; they were never consulted. They felt the time had come for them to run their own affairs. So they sent a delegation, composed of comrades FAUSTINO VANOMBA, KIBIRITI DIWANI and MODESTA YUSUP to the administrator of Mueda. In reply to the people's grievances, the administrator and the governor of CABO DELGADO invited the people to meet at the Mueda administrative headquarters on the 16th June, 1960.

By 3 p.m., hundreds of people had assembled at the administrative post. The governor spoke to them, trying to convince them why they should not demand independence. He repeated the old themes of the benefits of the Portuguese so-called "civilising mission;" that once they reached the required level of development, they would have the honour of becoming Portuguese citizens etc. But his words were soon drowned by cries of " we want independence!" When it became obvious that the people would have nothing of this, he suddenly fired a pistol into the air and a Portuguese platoon which had been hiding somewhere opened fire with machine-guns and grenades. The attack lasted for ten minutes in the course of which more than 500 Mozambicans were killed. They were completely unarmed, for they had gone there innocently, expecting that the government of their country would be handed over to their own leaders.

The massacre of Mueda taught the Mozambican people a hard lesson. Those people who had ever held any illusions about the possibilities of obtaining independence by peaceful means learned from the overwhelming force and brutality at Mueda that an armed offensive was the only way out. This and other such acts of large-scale repression served as a catalyst to bring together the Mozambican people in concerted action against the Portuguese. For the people also realised that isolated acts of opposition could never achieve any lasting results. Only when they were united into one powerful force could they have the strength to stand up against the Portuguese army. And this they did through the creation of PRELIMO.

The successes achieved during the five years of the armed struggle have proved that our comrades in Mueda did not die in vain. The Portuguese colonialists are paying the blood debt incurred in Mueda and elsewhere in Mozambique. The order of the day has been declared. Through the armed struggle, the Mozambican people will put an end to the crimes committed by the Portuguese colonialists. We will not lay down our arms until Mozambique is free.





THE STRUGGLE IN GUINEA-BISSAU

With the growing alliance of the forces of reaction, the NATO-Portuguese collaboration in the colonies, the cooperation of the Caetano, Vorster and Smith regimes, it is imperative that the national liberation movements close ranks against the common enemy. The fighting peoples of the Portuguese colonies constitute one such front. Since the establishment of the Conference of Nationalist Organisations from the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP) in 1963, solidarity among the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands through their respective representative organisations, namely, the MPLA, FRELIMO and the PAIGC has been growing steadily.

Recently, the Secretary-General of PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cabo Verde Islands), Comrade Cabral, who is also currently President of the CONCP, paid a short visit to Tanzania and held extensive talks with the representatives of the other two movements.

One evening he addressed a meeting of the FRELIMO and MPLA militants, in which he outlined the progress of the struggle in Guinea-Bissau. He illustrated his talks by showing two films on the struggle: one made by British Granada Television and the other by a Soviet team.

The enemy's military activities are daily aerial and naval bombardments, vain attempts to invade and reconquer certain liberated areas by combined land, air, and naval forces, and mopping up operations by helicopters, often supported by marines. Apart from the small conventional weapons, they are intensifying the use of fragmentation, napalm and phosphorous bombs. However, the nationalist forces are fighting vigorously and successfully on three fronts and have already liberated two thirds of their country. Accurate shooting by anti-aircraft gunners has destroyed about 40 percent of the Portuguese air power and forced them to discontinue the use of their slow B-26, Dornier DO-27 and P2V bombers in favour of jets - Fiat 91 and Sabre. Systematic attacks with cannon and bazookas are carried out against Portuguese fortified camps. One of the few means of transport left is by river, and there are intensive attacks against boats carrying troops and merchandise. Commando operations against urban centres, airports, dock installations etc. are particularly significant as they greatly increase demoralisation among the enemy and discredit the colonialist troops in those areas.

In one such attack, against an airbase only 10 kms. from the centre of Bissau, the control tower, barracks, and planes were destroyed. Increasing amounts of important war material are being captured, most of it NATO issue: West German G-3's, Fall machine guns, American machine guns, Mauser rifles etc.

In April -May 1969 PAIGC forces carried out the following operations:

- Attacks against camps and fortifications: 78;
- Ambushes and assaults: 25;
- Military lorries destroyed: 12;
- Boats sunk or damaged: 7;
- Enemies put out of action, excluding the camp casualties: 97 killed, among whom 4 officers and 2 sergeants and many wounded.

The political situation shows a similar picture. The Portuguese have lost their political control over most of the population and are confined, in this respect, to the urban areas plus the influence of a few traditional chiefs in areas where nationalist activity is not yet very advanced. They spread extensive political propaganda trying to discredit the nationalist leaders and split the loyalty of the people. They also try to manipulate the people with pious words about the "Portuguese Nation" fighting "bandits from outside" and by giving a few "show-piece" Africans high positions. But these activities are becoming as futile as their military operations. PAIGC has its own radio and newspaper "Libertacao" which not only neutralises enemy propaganda, but also informs the people of the party's political activities, on the progress of the struggle, the party's goals, Portuguese crimes, and information about African and world events. There are special radio programmes for the Portuguese soldiers. The policy of utilising traditional puppet leaders is becoming less and less successful as they become increasingly isolated from the people and abandoned by them. Similarly with their policy of "window dressing" with Africans in the administration which recently received a major blow when the African appointed General Secretary in the Government resigned and was replaced by a European. In order to organise and raise the political consciousness of the people, and increase the effectiveness of the village committees, PAIGC has undertaken an extensive programme of political education through its "Brigade for Political Work" and its "Conference of the Cadres." There have already been six conferences of political cadres and party militants, which discussed all the important problems related to the political life and the military struggle; and took important decisions about the development of activities at every level.

In addition to military and political activities, great achievements have been realised in social reconstruction, particularly in the educational field. Before the war, there were only 45 schools for Africans in the whole country as compared with 159 schools today, built by the people themselves.

The medical services also take priority here, through the use of curative and preventive medicine to upbringing a new healthy nation of Guineans.

Production is undertaken by raising the productive level and the use of better agricultural skills, geared to self-sufficiency and support for the war. Commercial activities are expanding daily, self-reliance is not merely in theory but practice through concrete deeds of the people. All these activities bring Guinea-Bissau nearer to independence in their liberation struggle.

SOLIDARITY MESSAGES

TO TANU'S XIV CONGRESS

Comrades,

It is with pleasure that, in the name of the fighting people of Mozambique, the Executive Committee of FRELIMO warmly greets the participants of the XIV Congress of TANU and, may this Revolutionary Assembly be one more victory for the militants of TANU and for the Tanzanian people as a whole, in their struggle for the realisation of Socialism.

On this occasion, the Executive Committee of FRELIMO congratulates TANU and its leaders, in particular, Comrade President Julius K. Nyerere, for the great successes achieved in the struggle for the consolidation of national independence, the establishment of socialism and the promotion of economic, social and cultural progress of the Tanzanian masses. These victories, which are the practical expression of the principles and goals of the historic ARUSHA DECLARATION, are not only victories for TANU and TANZANIA, but also for all of Africa, and they constitute a great encouragement for the revolutionary forces of all countries.

Comrades,

Your Congress is being held at a time when the brutal assassination of our beloved President, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, leader of FRELIMO and the Mozambican people, is still profoundly real and painful to us. He fell, a victim of a criminal act of colonialist, imperialist and counter-revolutionary forces. It was under his direction that FRELIMO and the Mozambican people obtained great successes, political as well as military, against the Portuguese colonialists and world imperialism, successes which afford us today, to exert control over one fifth of our national territory.

It was upon their acknowledging that they could not defeat us in the battlefield, that our enemies resorted to the use of international gangsterism, and decided to assassinate our Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, hoping that by this act they could stop our struggle.

But our people were not discouraged. On the contrary, our people's hatred against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism increased, and new energies came into being to reinforce our determination to expel once and for all foreign domination and all other forms of oppression from our country.

Today, as yesterday, FRELIMO and the Mozambican people are firmly determined to carry on their armed revolutionary struggle until final victory for national liberation. And we are sure that despite the fact that the Portuguese fascist, colonial government gets its support from its NATO allies, especially

the United States of America, West Germany, United Kingdom, France, Italy and Belgium, the victory will finally be ours. Our people, united under FRELIMO will continue to put in practice the decisions of the Second Congress and of the Central Committee, with a view to extend the armed struggle throughout the country and guided by the basic principle of self-reliance, we will redouble our efforts to eliminate completely all forms of oppression as well as exploitation of man by man, while building a free, independent and peoples' Mozambique.

In fact, FRELIMO and the Mozambican people are aware that our struggle is increasingly becoming a struggle against the combined colonialist, imperialist, fascist and racist forces of Portugal, South Africa and Ian Smith, supported by the military, economic and political power of the NATO alliance. To prove this reality, it suffices to point out that at this very moment when we are addressing you, our forces are fighting not only the Portuguese army, but also the South African army. In order to fight against our forces they have already established three military posts in Tete Province and in Niassa Province a battalion and 25 military aircraft, notwithstanding the well - equipped medical teams and the army of so-called "advisors." And so, our struggle is already within the context of the struggle for the defence of the interests of the masses of Southern Africa and, consequently, of Africa as a whole.

Comrades,

This present reality of our country resulting from the revolutionary development of the struggle of our people against the Portuguese colonialism and world imperialism, for the achievement of freedom, defines the dimension of the fight before us, the historic, difficult and at the same time, grandiose task to be accomplished. We undertook this task, within our own capacity, with courage, determination and enthusiasm, not only because we consider it our revolutionary duty, but also because we know it is shared by all of Africa, and more particularly, by you, the people of Tanzania. We are indeed well aware that the great successes we have achieved so far were partly due to the solidarity shown to us by TANU-AFRO-SHIRAZI and the people of Tanzania.

This solidarity, on the one hand, demonstrated by concrete material and moral support to our struggle and, on the other hand by the firm and revolutionary position taken in the face of attempts repeatedly perpetrated by the Portuguese colonialists against the sovereignty of Tanzania (which has already caused the loss of many Tanzanian lives); this solidarity constitutes, no doubt, one of the most important bases of the victory of our people in the course of the liberation struggle. For this reason we would like to reaffirm, before this Revolutionary Assembly of your XIV Congress, the deep feeling of gratitude from our militants and people of Mozambique for the solidarity and sympathy always and constantly shown by TANU-AFRO-SHIRAZI and all of the Tanzanian people towards FRELIMO and the armed, revolutionary struggle we are successfully waging for national liberation.

Comrades,

For us Mozambicans, your difficulties are our difficulties, your victories are our victories. Therefore, we congratulate ourselves for the realisation of this XIV Congress and we are sure that it will constitute a new and great success against the forces of colonialism and imperialism, and for the building of socialism for the well-being of the working masses of Tanzania.

So, therefore, we hail TANU, leader and revolutionary guide of the people of TANZANIA.

Long live the XIV Congress of TANU.

Long live the Arusha Declaration.

Long live the Revolutionary struggle of the Tanzanian people against colonialism, imperialism for socialism.

Long live the solidarity between TANU and FRELIMO.

Long live the friendship between the people of Tanzania and the people of Mozambique.

INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE!
VENCEREMOS!

Dar Es Salaam,
28th May, 1969.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

TO THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT
OF SOUTH VIETNAM

To His Excellency,
HUYNH TAN PATH
President of the Provisional
Revolutionary Government
of the Republic of
South Vietnam.

Your Excellency,
Dear Comrade,

In the name of the fighters and all the people of Mozambique, the Council of the Presidency of FRELIMO has the honour and joy to salute the formation of the new Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

This decision taken by the Congress of the Representatives of the people of South Vietnam, constitutes a natural stage in the development of the revolutionary process for the liberation of the people of your country, emphasises the complete failure of the criminal military aggression of American imperialism and shows clearly that the people of South Vietnam are

actually and completely assuming their destiny in their country.

Moreover, the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam also constitutes a new political and diplomatic victory for the South Vietnamese people which nullifies the criminal manoeuvres of the American imperialists and the administration of the puppet THIEU-KY-HUONG, particularly at this time when the Paris Conference is taking place.

Thus, the people of South Vietnam have taken a new step forward along the difficult but glorious road to liberation. This fills us with joy and our fighters and all our people join with the fighters and all the South Vietnamese people in celebrating the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

On this occasion, we wish to reaffirm our strong condemnation of the war of aggression perpetrated by American imperialism against your people, and to state that we consider this aggression as being aggression against ourselves.

It is thus quite natural that we should declare to you our complete support for the Twelve-point programme proclaimed by your government, and to assure you of the active solidarity of our fighters and all our people in order to contribute to the complete victory of your just and revolutionary struggle.

Your Excellency,
Dear Comrade,

Engaged as we are in an armed combat against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, your victories encourage and stimulate us. Hence the importance which we attach to the solidarity and friendship which link our peoples in this common struggle against colonialism and imperialism, to build the happiness of our people in a world where the will of the people will prevail.

In wishing you new and great successes in your revolutionary struggle against the American imperialist war of aggression, we send to your people, to the National Liberation Front, to your government and to you personally, the fraternal salutations and deep friendship of our fighters and our people.

INDEPENDENCIA OU MORTE,
VENCEREMOS!

Dar Es Salaam,
22nd June, 1969.

The Council of the Presidency of FRELIMO

TRIBUTES TO FRELIMO PRESIDENT

During his recent visit to Tanzania, on the 12th June, 1969, Comrade Amilcar Cabral, General-Secretary of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, paid homage to FRELIMO's late President Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. When laying a wreath inscribed with the words "To Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO - fighter for freedom and for Africa, fallen in the common struggle, the people of Guinea and Cape Verde express their gratitude," on the President's grave, he stated that the death of Comrade Mondlane was felt deeply by the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands. "His death is a great loss for Mozambique and for the whole of Africa. We shall avenge his murder by intensifying our common struggle against Portuguese colonialism. For us, Comrade Mondlane is not dead. His fighting spirit is always with us. As a poet of my country says: 'those who fall in the struggle for freedom remain alive in our hearts'".

On the 27th of June, 1969, a delegation from the new government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, led by the Minister for Agriculture, Dr. Mohamed Abdallah Nur, head of the delegation, and comprising Mr. Abel Alier, the Minister of Supplies and Mr. Murtada Mohed Ibrahim, the Minister for Irrigation, also paid their respects at the graveside of President Mondlane.

FRELIMO IN WORLD EVENTS

From the 15th to 18th May, 1969, the Executive Committee of the International Organisation of Journalists (I.O.J.), met at Balaton in Hungary. As members of the Executive Committee, FRELIMO's journalists sent a representative. This was Comrade Jorge Rebelo. In the course of the discussions, each delegation from countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe, spoke on the situation in their countries. Comrade Rebelo outlined the progress of the struggle in Mozambique and stressed the need for more political and material support from the I.O.J. to the liberation movements, especially in Africa. He also emphasised the responsibilities of the democratic journalists in spreading information about the liberation struggles, giving their public accurate reports, in order to counter the colonialist and imperialist propaganda.

The World Congress of Women, convened by the Women's International Democratic Federation in cooperation with the Democratic League of Finnish Women was held in Helsinki, Finland during 14-17 June. Comrades Janet Mondlane and Josina Machel composed the FRELIMO delegation. Ninety-six countries were represented at the Congress which considered the role of women in today's world - their tasks in society, in the family, in the labour force, and in the fight to win and defend national independence and democracy.

A one minute of silence was observed by the World Congress in memory of the President of FRELIMO.

Our delegation stood solidly with the women of Vietnam in their fight against US aggression, and joined with the women of Africa to inform delegates from other parts of the world about the wars of liberation now being waged in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, as well as in the rest of Southern Africa still under colonial and fascist domination. The Congress declared the solidarity and material and moral support of the World Democratic Federation of Women, to the women, and to the people of all countries which, like Mozambique, are fighting for national independence.

A World Assembly of Peace took place in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic, from the 21st to 24th June, 1969, in which representatives from international and national organisations as well as individuals, numbering more than one thousand, participated.

FRELIMO delegation at this Assembly was composed of Comrades Uria Simango, Mariano Matsinhe, Armando Panguene, Josina Machel and Judas Honwana.

The Assembly discussed in five working commissions, the main problems of the present world situation: Vietnam, European Security, the Middle East, colonialism, neo-colonialism, national independence, and disarmament.

Our delegation, in close cooperation with the comrades of PAIGC and MPLA actively participated in the work of the Assembly and took time to present and to explain the role and the importance of the armed struggles for national liberation in shaping a free and peaceful world which is the aspiration of all the peoples. Our delegation reaffirmed the support and solidarity of the Mozambican people and fighters to all those who are fighting resolutely against colonialism and imperialism, particularly the still dependent peoples of Africa, the people of Vietnam, and the people of Palestine.

The World Assembly of Peace unanimously paid tribute to our beloved Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, the late President of FRELIMO, and decorated him, in a posthumous homage, with the GREGORIS LAMBRAKIS MEDAL of the World Council of Peace.

